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OH! THAT TERRIBLE "WITCH HUNT"

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN probably doesn't realize it, but we are supposed to be living under a "reign of terror" — a phrase hitherto reserved for the period when the guillotine was working overtime during the French Revolution. At least that is what Bertrand Russell, well-known British philosopher, tells his audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Economist, one of the most informative political and economic magazines in the world, is so impressed by Owen Lattimore's *Ordeal by Slander* that it makes the following sweeping assertion, in a review of the book, published in its issue of July 26:

> "It is also an unfortunate fact that nobody who is tried in the United States . . . on any charge which suggests, however remotely, disloyalty can expect at this moment to have a fair trial."

Such a statement would have been more convincing if it had been accompanied by a bill of particulars, proving denial of all possible legal safeguards to Alger Hiss, the Communist leaders, Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs and others who have been brought to trial on charges involving disloyalty.

To the British voices which are frequently heard deploring the "anti-Communist hysteria" in America (it is just possible that a little more of this "hysteria" in Britain would have shortened a list of strange cases that include such key scientists as Alan Nunn May, Klaus Fuchs and Bruno Pontecorvo, diplomats Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean, Foreign Office radio operator William Marshall) are joined sympathetic voices on this side of the Atlantic. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas writes of "a black silence of fear", although the shrill chorus of professional denouncers of "McCarthyism" suggests neither silence nor fear.

But the favored phrase in this country is "witch hunt", with its dark suggestion of innocent persons being hounded to the gallows on false charges of an impossible crime. Some weeks ago *The Nation* came out with a long supplement devoted to the subject of civil liberties in this country. One of its main features was the monotonous iteration of that sinister phrase "witch hunt". What *The Nation* contributors seem to forget is that wizards named Hiss and witches named Coplon do exist, and if one looks under

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enough beds one may rout out someone answering to some such name as Gus Hall, Jack Stachel, Eugene Dennis, Harry Gold.

AFTER THE long series of exposures in courts of law and the many books which have been published by former Soviet agents it is nothing less than irrational to deny the existence of a vast, well-financed, world-wide web of Communist espionage and infiltration. Any attempt, therefore, to suggest that there is no necessity to take vigorous and effective measures to oppose and thwart this conspiracy is either prompted by Communist sympathy or reveals a state of ignorance and naiveté that approaches downright foolishness.

To make this obvious point is not to suggest that everything that has been done and said in this field represents the last word in wisdom and effectiveness. In everything but name we are at war with Stalinite Communism. Wartime tempers are quick and wartime passions are hot. Some of the attempts to prevent Americans from leaving this country and to bar foreign visitors on flimsy or bureaucratic grounds have probably done more harm than good. The word "Communist" has been bandied about too freely as a general term of abuse. Any probable excess or slip in the very necessary work of exposing Communists and Communist sympathizers is exploited by the Communists themselves, by the fellow-travellers and by that larger group that might be called anti-anti-Communists in order to discredit the idea that there is a conspiracy which must be fought and frustrated.

Yet such expressions as "reign of terror", "black silence of fear", to say nothing of the overworked "witch hunt", are gross and misleading exaggerations. If a real reign of terror did exist, the first proof of it would be that no one could say so in print. Yet anyone can walk into a fair-sized American bookstore and take his pick of a dozen books describing with varying degrees of restraint and accuracy all alleged injuries to the principles of civil liberties.

There is much talk of "characters assassinated", of "innocent reputations besmirched". But when one asks for specific examples the answer is likely to be some decidedly controversial individual, such as Owen Lattimore or John Stewart Service. A lurid picture is sometimes painted of Americans at the mercy of conscienceless informers, and there is a systematic campaign, masterminded from Communist headquarters and supported by innocent and not-so-innocent fellow-travellers, to represent everyone who has broken with Communism as an unstable, unreliable witness.

But this just isn't borne out by the cold facts of the situation. Consider one point. Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, Hede Massing, Louis Budenz called their shots and named names in describing their activities in the Communist underground. Not one

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of the persons named has made a libel suit stick; and the suits brought by Alger Hiss and William Remington blew up disastrously in the latters' faces. Most of the persons identified as members of Communist spy rings, or sources of information to these rings, refused to answer on the suggestive ground: fear of self-incrimination.

The nonsense of the "reign of terror" suggestion is debunked if one considers that no one is in the slightest danger of losing his liberty except after being convicted of a specific crime in an open court. Even the prevalence of job discrimination in academic posts is very much exaggerated. Not long ago I noticed that a man with a long record of front affiliations was teaching, amusingly enough, in a university which has been attacked as a bastion of reaction because of a controversy, rather silly on both sides, over the requirement of a loyalty oath and the scruples of some faculty members about taking such an oath.

WHAT AMERICAN left-wingers often demand is not all-around freedom of speech but freedom of speech exclusively for themselves. If this point were more clearly understood the spectre of a terrible witch hunt would shrink to its proper very small dimensions.

For instance, any critical discussion of a school textbook is apt to elicit a chorus of cries about book burning, witch burning and what not. But is it so unreasonable that Americans, as citizens and parents, should have some voice in what is being taught to their children?

Consider a few other specific cases. John T. Flynn, in his hard-hitting little book, *While You Slept,* offers statistical proof that an extremely high percentage of reviews of books about China (in the critical years preceding the Communist take-over) in the influential *Times* and *Herald-Tribune* book sections were written by a small clique of individuals strongly biased in favor of the Chinese Communists.

No one questions the right of the editors to publish such reviews. But the right of John T. Flynn or anyone else to point out their biased character would seem equally unquestionable. Yet to some minds, warped by the impact of the standard fallacious leftist clichés, the publication of this type of review would be progressive free thought. The voicing of critical objection would be a species of "reactionary fascism".

During the war years the traditionally staid and mildly conservative *Atlantic Monthly* went overboard in an effort to outdo Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins, Henry Wallace and Alger Hiss in being nice to our Soviet ally. There was a ban on the mildest criticism of Soviet actions and intentions. Its unsuspecting readers were served a steady diet of interpretations of Soviet and Polish conditions and world developments generally which

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might have appeared, with a few stylistic changes, in the columns of *Pravda.* There was no question of the right of the *Atlantic* editors to publish this sort of stuff. But it was an equally clear right, and perhaps a duty, of public-spirited writers to point out the discrepancies between the real world of Stalin's terror and aggression and the *Atlantic's* dream world of the Soviet regime as a cooperative do-gooder.

Until the autumn of 1951, the old, established publishing firm of Little, Brown and Company had passed through a "redder than the rose" phase, extending over a number of years. Many of its authors in political and economic fields suggested a Who's Who of the Communist and fellow-traveller intellectual elite. There were no penalties for writing or publishing books with this pro-Soviet bias. But by the same principle of freedom of speech and press there could be no reasonable objection to criticism and exposure of this situation. An effective, well-documented exposure by *Counterattack* led to some housecleaning at Little, Brown; and that publishing house has already made some amends by publishing Ralph de Toledano's hardhitting attack on its former prominent author, Owen Lattimore (in *Spies, Dupes and Diplomats*) and the grim concentration camp story of the Ukrainian, Nicholas Prychodko.

AMERICAN totalitarian "liberals" have long been adept at upholding double standards of morals. They went into crusading ecstasies against fascist purges, executions and concentration camps, but were silent or apologetic about the fact that the same methods have been an integral part of Soviet Communism since it took power thirty-five years ago. More recently they have been trying to put over, with their "witch hunt" ballyhoo, another double standard: that vigorous free speech by collectivists is praiseworthy, but that equally vigorous free speech by persons concerned with the maintenance of American constitutional practices and individualist standards is utterly reprehensible.

Unfortunately, this intellectual double-talk has made some progress on university campuses, where Owen Lattimore is a hero and Senator McCarthy a deep-dyed villain. But several political events show that the plain American citizen is not being taken for this kind of leftist joyride. There was the unexpected retirement of Senator Tydings to private life, a direct sequel to his use of the whitewash brush in his "investigation" of the charges against Owen Lattimore. There was the smashing victory of Richard Nixon, who did more than anyone, perhaps, to expose Alger Hiss, over Helen Gahagan Douglas. Most recently there was the tremendous endorsement of Senator McCarthy by Wisconsin voters.

What has been feverishly described as a "witch hunt", a "reign of terror", a "black silence of fear" is a long overdue reaction to the pro-Communist infiltration into key political and intellectual positions which had been going on with little or no opposition from the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations.

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FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

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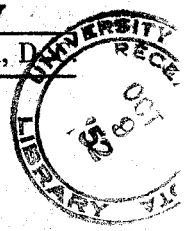

This week, in the absence of the Editor (on vacation), WILLIS J. BALLINGER has written the following news report from the Capital. MR. BALLINGER broadcasts a national news commentary tri-weekly from Washington.

Confusing Matter: Washington is a place where the consumption of wood pulp is a vast industry. Week in and week out the Federal government turns out hundreds of pamphlets, documents and records. Often tucked away in one of these numerous publications is an interesting story — if you happen to see it. We found one the other day that has us slightly confused.

In INFORMATION BULLETIN Number 31 of the Library of Congress — a bulletin signed by Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress — we read under the column captioned "personal": "It is a pleasure to announce the appointment of Dr. Esther Brunauer to the staff effective August 4. Since Dr. Brunauer's name has been presented in the newspapers in a sometimes unfavorable light, let me make it plain here that I am categorically advised by the Department of State that she has been completely and unequivocally cleared on grounds of loyalty and that her record with the State Department gives no basis for not giving her security clearance. *On other grounds*, however, the State Department has *ruled her unavailable* for employment in certain kinds of *so-called 'sensitive positions'*. [Our italics.] In the Library of Congress her position is not in the sensitive category."

Before the Tydings' (whitewash) Committee, Senator Joe McCarthy furnished the names of both Esther Brunauer and her husband — Stephen Brunauer. In his book, *McCarthyism—the Fight for America*, Senator McCarthy states that though the Tydings' Committee cleared both of the Brunauers a lot has happened since their clearance. The Wisconsin Senator says that Stephen Brunauer — an admitted former member of the Young Communist League — was suspended from his job as head of the Navy's high explosives section where he was engaged in top secret work, that he resigned before the Navy's Loyalty Board could complete the questioning of him and dispose of the case. McCarthy said that in the case of Esther Brunauer she had been suspended from a high State Department job where she was handling secret material.

Clearance by the State Department Board has been of dubious value. The minutes of the government's overall top loyalty board (Feb. 13, 14, 1951) show Chairman Bingham saying, "The State Department has the worst record of any Department in the actions of its loyalty board . . . in all the cases it has considered it has not found anyone guilty." Lawrence W. Meloy, Executive Secretary of this top Board, said about the State Department's Loyalty Board: "They are taking the attitude that they are here to clear the employee and not to protect the government." Garrett S. Hoag, a Board member, said: "I have been disturbed about the State Department — their remarkable record of never having fired anyone for disloyalty."

This was in February, 1951. On December 13, 1951, this same top loyalty board of the government reversed the State Department's Loyalty Board and dismissed John Stewart Service from the government. Later on the State Department Loyalty Board did hold unanimously against Oliver Edmund Clubb — but Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, over-ruled his own board and gave Clubb a clean bill of health, permitting him to resign and accept a life pension from the government of $5800 a year.

In the case of Esther Brunauer it is indeed confusing to find the State Department Loyalty Board — according to the Librarian of Congress — clearing her on grounds of loyalty, but ruling that she is

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unavailable for employment in certain kinds of so-called "sensitive positions" in the government. Anyway there is Mrs. Brunauer, appointed by the Librarian of Congress into the Library of Congress, and put back on the Federal payroll although the State Department board terminated her work with the State Department because she was in a sensitive position in the government. Frankly, it is difficult to understand how persons can be cleared on grounds of loyalty by a loyalty board and not be available for any position in the Federal government for which their training and experience would qualify them.

On Capitol Hill: Speaking of Nixon and private trust funds for politicians, there is an unconfirmed rumor here that no less than Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives, has enjoyed help from such funds which were raised by a prominent Dallas, Texas, lawyer.

—— A wit on Capitol Hill remarks that, if Stevenson calls the meeting between General Eisenhower and Senator Taft "the great surrender", his (Stevenson's) understanding with President Truman should be called the Missouri Compromise.

Ike and Taft-Hartley: How much did General Eisenhower and Senator Taft agree on? The Ohio Senator announced that they were in complete agreement on domestic issues — particularly the Taft-Hartley law. A few days later Ike, before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, said that he knew that the Taft-Hartley law "might be used to break unions" and that this must be changed as neither the nation nor he wanted any law licensing "union busting". This was certainly a blow to Senator Taft who has contended that the law could not be used for any such purpose.

We can now tell you how all this happened — exclusive to HUMAN EVENTS. Before Ike's talk to the AFofL Convention, Arthur Summerfield, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, had prepared a speech for the General on the Taft-Hartley law. He had shown this speech to Senator Taft and the Senator had approved it. This speech was duly forwarded to Ike, but when the General reached New York he was promptly taken in tow by the Dewey crowd and Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire, all bitter political enemies of the Ohio Senator. They told him that the Summerfield speech just wouldn't do, particularly since it didn't give any help to Senator Ives of New York State who is running for re-election. Ives has been a consistent advocate of repeal of the Taft-Hartley law in the Senate. To help his chances for re-election with the labor bosses, he has openly solicited support from certain unions on this basis — and gotten it.

Eisenhower was, therefore, counselled to take a swipe at Taft-Hartley in Ives' behalf, and the anti-Taft crowd offered another speech to him — one prepared by the labor editor of a national business magazine. This person, we are reliably informed, was once a socialist, and on the staff of the steel workers' union — but today is high in the councils of a publication which makes a lot of fuss about resisting all radical efforts to destroy free enterprise in business.

It was this same person — we are told — who wrote Dewey's speech on labor in the campaign of 1944. This was the speech in which Dewey — in a demagogic bid for the support of the labor bosses — announced that, if elected, he would not ask for any amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

The Wagner Act was one of the most one-sided and vicious pieces of labor legislation in our history. Under it management was subjected to many restrictions — but the labor bosses were given a free hand to bludgeon employers through the use of the secondary boycott and other unfair labor practices into unionizing their shops. In 1944 management was crying out for relief from such an unfair, one-sided labor relations act. But Governor Dewey announced that, if elected, he would back the Wagner Act one hundred per cent.

And the person who wrote the speech in which he made the announcement was the same person who prepared the speech for Ike smearing the Taft-Hartley law — the speech that was substituted for the one which had Taft's approval.

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New Corruption Probe: The Committee of the House headed by Congressman Chelf of Kentucky, investigating the Department of Justice, is about to tackle a difficult but very important problem. The Committee is going to look into the whole matter of how persons in highly placed government positions resign and immediately get a lot of lucrative business from clients who not infrequently had matters pending in their departments before they resigned.

The Committee wants to find out if such persons are hired because of their influence with departments they have left and — if so — what can be done to put a stop to this kind of influence peddling. The Federal Government has several laws on the statute books aimed at this type of racket; but they have either been so liberalized in their construction, or so non-enforced, that they are useless today. The Committee will seek to put teeth into these statutes or recommend new ones.

Zarubin: The installation of the new Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Georgi Zarubin, was scarcely an inspiring spectacle. There was Zarubin at the White House telling the American press that "the government of the Soviet Union — in consistently pursuing the policy of the strengthening of peace — is striving to maintain friendly political, economic and cultural relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America in the interest of the peoples of our countries and of a universal peace". Zarubin, of course, knew that what he was saying was the sheerest hypocrisy.

He knows that for nearly a quarter of a century agents of the Kremlin have been swarming over America with one fixed purpose in mind — the overthrow of the government of the United States by violence — and the establishment of a Russian puppet State in America.

Shortly after World War I, a wave of paralyzing strikes spread over the nation — strikes largely Communist inspired. And before the Lusk Committee of the New York Legislature — then investigating subversive activities in the United States — Ludwig Martens, the unofficial, unrecognized Soviet Ambassador to the United States admitted frankly that he was in America to foment revolution — and the Committee found that he was spending large sums to achieve that end.

The frankness of the Communists in confessing their grand objective defeated them. Aroused Federal and State authorities joined hands to arrest thousands of Communist agitators and to impound tons of literature advocating methods of violence and terror.

For a time the Communist conspiracy in America received a severe set back and the Communists learned the value of secrecy in their operations. As national vigilance relaxed, they re-formed their shattered forces, devoted their energies to masking their work behind numerous organizations with good American names: an American negro congress — an American youth congress — an American committee for the protecting of the foreign born — and hundreds of others.

By the time the New Deal came to office the Communists were a formidable political power in America.

The political power of the Communists in America was an important factor in securing for the Soviet Union recognition from the American government. When Roosevelt did recognize Russia — something four other Presidents had refused to do because of the Communist objective of world revolution — Litvinov, who represented Russia, solemnly promised Roosevelt that the Russian government "would not permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group — and would prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or officials of any organization or group which has as an aim *the overthrow of* or *the bringing about by force* of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions". That was what the Russian government solemnly promised when Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union. But the Russian government has never for even one single second kept this pledge. Continuously since 1919 — the Russian government has year in and year out directed from Moscow the infiltration of the United States for the purpose of achieving a violent overthrow of our government, and the establishment of a Communist satellite State in America.

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The Korea Story: John C. Caldwell, in collaboration with Lesley Frost. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $3.00.

History is made out of stories. Somebody sees or experiences an event that to him seems interesting and worth telling or recording; so does another and another. Later, a professional historian tries to sift out of this mass of stories a pattern of events, or a pattern of living and thinking, and presents his findings as a meaningful picture of the times he has been investigating. Whether his picture is a true one, whether he has thrown into it only significant stories, or has been attracted to better advertised trivia, depends not only on his keenness of perception but also on the preconceptions that influence his judgment. Anyhow, he must have stories; they are to history what pigments are to painting.

In studying our times, the future historian will have his job cut out for him. Not only are the stories of contemporary events piling up at a speed limited only by the speed of the printing press, but those that are "official" — that is, designed to put the powers that be in favorable perspective — are different in detail and quite different in emphasis from stories of the same events being recorded by independent observers.

Among the latter is a new book called *The Story of Korea.* When some future historian essays an analysis of what is called "our Far East policy", it is to be hoped that he does not miss this book. Not because it is scholarly or contains information of top-level importance, but because its very simplicity lends weight to the evidence it brings to bear on that "policy". It is nothing more than the story of the attempt to "bring democracy" to the Koreans, written by a minor official of the State Department assigned to that task. It covers the three years prior to the invasion of South Korea by the Communists.

John C. Caldwell, with the zeal acquired from his missionary upbringing, worked hard at his job, despite the "red tape" handicaps inherent in any government undertaking, and seems to think that his efforts were not unrewarded. However, while enjoying the unaffected recital of Caldwell's adventures, we could not put away the futility of it all. It is simply impossible at one fell stroke to impose the culture of one people on another. Where imposition has been done — as in the case of the Norman conquest of the Anglo-Saxons — the job has always covered a number of generations, and the emerging culture is a blend, not an importation. Despite Caldwell's enthusiasm, the fact remains that the Koreans went to vote just as a child speaks his piece before company; there is no understanding.

When the State Department replaced the army in the management of Korean affairs, in January, 1949, its 20,000 agents settled down to a life of self-contained luxury. They "brought democracy" to the Koreans by living quite apart from them, and by lording it over them. Undoubtedly, the Koreans' concept of "democracy" must have been influenced by a comparison of their own poverty with the waste and extravagance of these missionaries of "democracy". Caldwell makes much of the week-end orgies in Seoul, where most of these missionaries disported themselves. But, what else could they do? Perhaps they unconsciously recognized the futility of their task, or suspected that the real "policy" was to wantonly waste the American taxpayers' money. So, they settled down, safely and sensibly, to the routine of meticulously following orders from Washington, golf and glorious cocktail parties. There was also evidence of Communist sympathy among these Americans, which would hardly induce them to push the "democratic" experiment; but Caldwell, who records only what he saw, frankly disqualifies himself as an expert on this subject.

Whatever the future historian may get out of *The Korea Story,* the contemporary reader cannot help asking himself: "Is this what our boys are dying for?" If either or our Presidential candidates were not committed to a continuation of this fantasy called "our Far Eastern policy", the book would make a telling campaign document.

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